

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EUR-12 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-01

INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02

SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 AID-05 /073 W

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R 270426Z DEC 74

FM AMEMBASSY SAIGON

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1402

INFO USDEL JEC PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 SAIGON 15844

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT VS

SUBJ: STATUS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE IN MR-1

FOLG TEL SENT ACTION EMB SAIGON INFO AMCONSULS NHA TRANG, CAN THO,  
BIEN HOA FM AMCONSUL DANANG 19 DEC 74 RPTD FYI

QUOTE

DANANG 0736

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT VS

SUBJ: STATUS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE IN MR 1

REF: DANANG A-8

1. SUMMARY: THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE (SDA) IS GENERALLY  
INACTIVE IN MR-1. SINCE THE INITIAL ORGANIZING CAMPAIGN  
UNDERTAKEN IN AN ATTEMPT TO QUALIFY FOR LEGAL POLITICAL  
PARTY STATUS, THE SDA DOES NOT APPEAR TO HAVE GROWN STRONGER IN  
THIS REGION. ALTHOUGH ALLIANCE FIGURES CONTEND THAT SDA NOW HAS  
A CHAPTER IN QUANG TRI, WHICH WAS NOT THE CASE EARLIER IN THE  
YEAR, THIS CHAPTER APPEARS TO EXIST PRINCIPALLY ON PAPER. THE  
SDA CONTINUES TO BE A LOOSE CONFEDERATION OF SOVERIGN PARTIES  
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WHOSE MEMBERS APPEAR PRIMARILY INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING THEIR

INDIVIDUAL PARTIES, AND NOT IN THE MEANINGFUL MERGER OF PARTY IDENTITIES AND RESOURCES WHICH WOULD BE NECESSARY IF A STRONG ALLIANCE IS TO BE CREATED. THE SDA DID NOT CHOOSE TO PRESENT CANDIDATES IN THE JULY PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL COUNCIL ELECTIONS, ALTHOUGH MEMBER PARTIES, PARTICULARLY THE VNQDD-THONG NHUT, CAMPAIGNED SEPARATELY FOR SOME CANDIDATES.

2. NONE OF THE MAJOR SDA COMPONENTS IN THE REGION--THE VIETNAM QUOC DAN DANG-THONG NHUT(VNQDD-TN), THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT(PNM), AND THE WORKER-FARMER PARTY(WFP)--APPEAR INCLINED TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM THE SDA, HOWEVER, AS THE ALLIANCE DOES PROVIDE A LEGAL BASIS FOR THE POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF PARTIES WHICH OTHERWISE WOULD BE OPERATING IN DEFIANCE OF DECREE LAW 060. IT APPEARS THAT INCENTIVE FOR GENUINE ALLIANCE, OR EVEN FOR INCREASED SDA ACTIVITY, WILL HAVE TO BE GENERATED AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL, HOWEVER; NOTHING IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE PRINCIPAL PARTICIPANTS IN THE REGION SUGGESTS THAT THE COMFORTABLY DORMANT STATE OF THE SDA HERE WILL CHANGE AS A CONSEQUENCE OF LOCAL INITIATIVE. THE BASIC SDA STRUCTURE EXISTS HERE, HOWEVER, AND COULD PROBABLY BE ACTIVATED SHOULD THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE RESPECTIVE COMPONENTS ELECT TO DO SO. END SUMMARY.

2. DURING THE PAST SEVERAL DAYS CONSULATE GENERAL OFFICERS HAVE TAKEN SOUNDINGS THROUGHOUT THE REGION WITH A BROAD SPECTRUM OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE SDA. THE CONSENSUS WHICH EMERGED IS THAT THE ALLIANCE IS INACTIVE, ALTHOUGH INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS CONTINUE THEIR OWN POLITICAL PURSUITS. THE WORKER-FARMER PARTY IS REGARDED AS THE LEAST ACTIVE MEMBER AT PRESENT, BOTH AS AN SDA COMPONENT AND ON BEHALF OF ITS OWN PURSUITS, ITS CADRE BEING VIEWED PRINCIPALLY AS LABOR UNION, RATHER THAN POLITICAL PARTY, ACTIVISTS.

3. PROVINCIAL OVERVIEW: THE SDA HAS BEGUN ORGANIZING IN QUANG TRI, BUT IS NOT ACTIVE. THIS IS CONFIRMED BOTH BY MAJOR PHAN RANG, THE QUANG TRI NATIONAL POLICE CHIEF, AND THE 2 VNQDD-TN MEMBERS OF THE PROVINCE COUNCIL, HA XUAN TOAN THE VICE CHAIRMAN AND LE DINH CHINH THE SECY GENERAL. TOAN TOLD A CONGEN POLOFF THAT IN QUANG TRI THE VNQDD FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES WAS THE SDA. HE CONSIDERED THAT THE UTILITY OF THE SDA WAS CONFIDENTIAL

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ALMOST ENTIRELY LIMITED TO PROVIDING A LEGITIMATE COVER FOR THE VNQDD.

4. HUE/THUA THIEN: THE HUE/THUA THIEN CHAPTER OF THE SDA CONTINUES TO EXIST AND REPORTEDLY HOLDS SMALL MONTHLY MEETINGS, BUT IT IS EVIDENT THAT SERIOUS INTERNAL STRAINS LIMIT ITS EFFECTIVENESS IN THE PROVINCE. THE CHAIRMAN, DOAN CONG LAP OF THE WORKER-FARMER PARTY, TOLD A CONGEN OFF THAT THERE WAS A SPLIT BETWEEN THE CAP

TIEN AND THE OTHER PARTIES OF THE ALLIANCE. LAP SAID THAT THE SOURCE OF THE SPLIT WAS IN CAP TIEN'S TENDENCY TO SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION WHILE THE CONG NONG AND THE VNQDD-THONG NHUT REMAIN IN GREATER OPPOSITION. LAP TRACED THE SPLIT BACK TO FEB 74 WHEN, ACCORDING TO HIM, CAP TIEN ASKED THE HUE/THUA THIEN CHAPTER TO COMPLETE FORMAL REGISTRATION PROCEDURES BY SUBMITTING PADDED LISTS OF MEMBERS. LAP SAID THAT CAP TIEN ASSURED THE COMITE THAT THE MIN OF THE INTERIOR HAD INFORMALLY AGREED TO THIS, BUT THE OTHER PARTIES REFUSED BECAUSE SUCH AN ACT WOULD PUT THEM AT THE MERCY OF THE AUTHORITIES SHOULD THE LATTER EVER DECIDE TO CHALLENGE THE LISTS. PROFESSOR HO DINH CY, SECY GENERAL OF SDA IN THE PROVINCE AND A SENIOR CAP TIEN FIGURE, CONFIRMED THE LOW LEVEL OF SDA ACTIVITY IN THE CITY AND PROVINCE. HE INDIRECTLY CONFIRMED THE SPLIT IN THE LOCAL COMITE BY BEING PARTICULARLY CRITICAL OF THE WORKER-FARMER CONTRIBUTION TO THE ALLIANCE.

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ACTION EA-10

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SS-15 USIA-06 OMB-01 AID-05 /073 W

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5. LAP PREDICTED THE DISSOLUTION OF THE SDA AT THE SAIGON LEVEL BECAUSE OF CAP TIEN'S TENDENCY TO SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION, WHILE THE VNQDD-THONG NHUT WISHED TO REMAIN IN OPPOSITION AND AT PRESENT SUPPORTED THE PEOPLE'S ANTI-CORRUPTION MOVEMENT. (VNQDD-TN LEADER NGUYEN DINH LUONG RECENTLY DENIED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS FACTION SUPPORTS PACM.)

6. DANANG SDA CHAIRMAN PHAM NHU TOAN, WHO IS SECY GENERAL OF THE VNQDD-TN, DANANG, CONTENTED IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH A CONGEN POLOFF THAT THE SDA IS STILL ACTIVE, BUT ACKNOWLEDGED

THAT THE MEMBER PARTIES CONTINUE TO BE PREDOMINANTLY INTERESTED IN THEIR INDIVIDUAL PARTY, RATHER THAN ALLIANCE, AFFAIRS. HE SAID THAT THE WORKER-FARMER PARTY(WFP) IS NOT VERY ACTIVE IN DANANG, EITHER AS A PARTY OR AS A MEMBER OF THE SDA. WORKER-FARMER PARTY DANANG CHIRMAN HUYNH GIAO, CVT CHAIRMAN AND DEP SDA CHAIRMAN, CONFIRMED THIS. GIAO TOLD A CONGEN REP THAT DECREE LAW 060 HAD INFLUENCED THE WFP TO JOIN THE SDA. HE SAID THAT THE INDIVIDUAL COMPONENTS OF THE ALLIANCE HAVE NOT TRULY COOPERATED WITH EACH OTHER BUT HAVE INSTEAD CONCENTRATED ON DEVELOPING THEIR OWN PARTIES.

7. THESE THEMES WERE ALSO ECHOED BY VNQDD THAN NIEN TIEN BO (PROGRESSIVE YOUTH) LEADER LTC NGUYEN KIM TUAN, WHO IS ON THE CENTRAL EXEC COMITE OF THE SDA. TUAN CONTENTED IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH A CONGEN POLOFF THAT THE SDA WAS INACTIVE BECAUSE  
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OF THE DELIBERATE DECISION AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL BY THE PROGRESSIVE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT, ITS MOST SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT NATIONALLY, TO BE MODERATE AND RELATIVELY INACTIVE IN ANTICIPATION OF AN INVITATION TO PLAY A MAJOR ROLE IN THE GOVT.

8. QUANG NAM: SDA IN SOUTHERN QUANG NAM REPORTEDLY IS INACTIVE, WITH NO PARTY ACTIVITIES. SOURCES CLOSE TO THE PROVINCIAL WORKER-FARMER LEADER REPORT THAT NO PARTY ACTIVITIES HAVE BEEN UNDERTAKEN RECENTLY NOR HAS ANY GUIDANCE COME FROM SAIGON. CADRES ARE SAID TO BE MORE INTERESTED IN MAKING ECONOMIC ENDS MEET THAN IN ENGAGING IN POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

9. IN QUANG TIN DAD PROVINCIAL CHAIRMAN NGUYEN KIEU IN A RECENT CONVERSATION WITH A CONGEN POLOFF STRUCK A MORE OPPOSITIONIST TONE THAN HAS BEEN COMMON IN THE SDA. REPEATING CHARGES OF CORRUPTION--GENERALLY AGAINST THE GVN SYSTEM AND SPECIFICALLY AGAINST QUANG TIN PROVINCE CHIEF COL DAO MONG XUAN--KIEU SAID A CHANGE IN GOVT WAS NECESSARY AND NAMED AS SUITABLE CABINET LEVEL MATERIAL TRAN VAN TUYEN AND QUANG NAM LOWER HOUSE DEP PHAN THIEP. KIEU SAID THAT THE SDA IN QUANG TIN HAD NOT BEEN ACTIVE LATELY, BUT THAT THE 3 COMPONENTS (VNQDD/TN, CONG NONG AND CAP TIEN) WERE STILL CAPABLE OF WORKING TOGETHER. KIEU SAID THAT THE SDA HAD SUFFICIENT STRENGTH NATIONWIDE TO BECOME A LEGAL PARTY; IT HAS SUFFICIENT STRENGTH IN QUANG TIN, HE CLAIMED, BUT PAPERWORK OBSTACLES THROWN UP BY THE PROVINCE CHIEF PREVENTED OFFICIAL CERTIFICATION OF THAT FACT.

10. QUANG NGAI: THE SDA IN QUANG NGAI HAS SHOWN NO SIGNS OF PARTY ACTIVITY OF LATE. A LOCAL WFP LEADER SAID HIS ORGANIZATION WAS STILL WILLING TO PARTICIPATE IN THE SDA BUT WAS NOT CURRENTLY ACTIVE. THE POTENTIAL STRENGTH OF THE SDA IN QUANG NGAI, HOWEVER, COMES FROM THE VNQDD/TN, ONE OF THE MANY VNQDD FACTIONS IN THE PROVINCE. THESE FACTIONS, NONETHELESS, RETAIN A CONSCIOUSNESS

OF BEING VNQDD, AND ATTEMPTS TO UNIFY THAT PARTY, IN A PRES ELECTION  
YEAR AND PERHAPS UNDER A NEW POLITICAL PARTY LAW, MIGHT EROD  
VNQDD ALLEGIANCE TO THE SDA.  
FRANCIS

UNQTE.  
MARTIN

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